

THE TRUE AMERICAN.

Devoted to Universal Liberty.

VOLUME I.

TERMS.
Published weekly, at Two Dollars and Fifty Cents per annum, in advance, or Three Dollars if not paid within three months.
Five copies to a club for Ten Dollars.
To *householders* in the Slave States, one dollar per year in advance, or two dollars after three months.
Subscriptions out of Kentucky payable in advance.
Remittances at the risk of the Editor.

Agents.
PAUL SYMOUR, General Agent; *S. E. corner of Walton and Fifth Streets*, New York.
CALE HARRIS, sole Agent for the New England States, No. 124 Washington street, Boston.
FISCH & WOOD, 115 Nassau street, New York.
ELI DILLIN, S. W. cor. of Green and Ridge Road Phila.
Philadelphia.

Mr. Webster's Speech.

In the Senate, yesterday, on the bill reported from the Committee on Military Affairs, relative to the organization of volunteers for the army, Mr. Webster took occasion to say something relative to the finances of the government. His remarks are deeply interesting. We copy them in full from the *National Intelligencer*:

Mr. BENTON, from the Committee on Military Affairs, reported a bill to provide for the organization of the volunteer forces brought into the service of the United States into brigades and divisions, and for the appointment of the necessary number of general officers to command the same.

Mr. BENTON asked that the bill have its second reading now, and intimated his intention to call it up for consideration tomorrow. Mr. WEBSTER said he was not at all surprised at the introduction of this bill; for augt. he knew it was a necessary one; but it showed, at all events, that the law which it was intended to amend and improve was but a piece of patchwork. That law was not passed for calling into the service of the United States the militia of the country, nor was it passed in the regular exercise of the power conferred upon Congress for raising and maintaining an army. It was a mixed, an anonymous, and an incongruous system, as he would venture to say, this early occasion for its modification proved it to be, and as would be made abundantly evident before the war with Mexico is ended.

I shall not (continued Mr. W.) oppose the progress of this bill. I cannot say it is unconstitutional, though I think it is irregular, inconvenient, and not strictly conformable to the exercise of the constitutional power of Congress. If those who are charged with the conduct of the war, and are answerable for its results, think it necessary, I shall not oppose it. But I will take the occasion now presented, sir, of the second reading of an important bill, respecting the troops called into the service to carry on the war, to make a few remarks respecting the war itself, and the condition in which we find ourselves in consequence of that war. The war continues, and no man can say definitely when it will end—no man can say, upon any reasonable estimate, what expense will be incurred before its conclusion.

We have received a very important communication from the President—I mean his message of the 16th of June—setting forth his views and opinions, and the views and opinions of the Secretary of the Treasury, with respect to the means and sources of revenue for carrying on the war. Upon this, sir, as well as upon one or two other subjects connected with this bill, I have a few remarks to make.

The Executive is responsible for the conduct of the war, and for the application of the resources put at its disposal by the two houses of Congress for the purpose of prosecuting the war. For one, I shall not deny, the government any supplies which may be considered necessary. Whatever may be thought of the origin of the war, the fact that war does exist, is itself a sufficient reason for granting the means for prosecuting that war with effect. Those who condemn the origin of the war, and those who most earnestly long for its termination, will all agree that the refusal of supplies will make no amends for what some lament, and would not hasten what, I hope, all desire.

The message of the 16th of June informs the Senate and the country that, for the fiscal year ending July, 1847, there will be, under the operation of the existing law of raising revenue, a deficiency, if the war continues, of twenty millions of dollars, and suggests the ways and means by which it is expected that this deficiency will be made good. I refer to these suggestions for the purpose of making a few observations upon them.

The object is to provide new sources of revenue, which shall realize a fresh amount beyond that furnished by the provisions of the existing law, of twenty millions of dollars, between this time and the first of July next year. This is the object. The first suggestion in the communication from the Executive government is, that five millions and a half may be produced by reducing the rates of duties on certain imported articles, and by levying new taxes on certain other imported articles now free of all duties; meaning principally, I suppose, by those articles now free, and which are to be taxed, tea and coffee. There is also an intimation or an opinion expressed by the Secretary of the Treasury, that a million of dollars will accrue to the Treasury under the operation of the warehouse bill, if that bill should become a law. In the next place, it is estimated that if the bill for graduating the price of the public lands should become a law, the augmentation of the sales of the public lands will so far counterbalance any losses incurred in the reduction of price, as, on the whole, to produce half a million of dollars more than would otherwise be obtained from that source. These several sums put together would leave a balance of \$12,580,000 still to be provided for, and a provision for this balance is contemplated either by loans or by an authority to the Treasury to issue Treasury notes, or both, with a distinct recommendation and preference, however, for the authority to issue Treasury notes.

Now, sir, with an anxious desire that the country shall be led into no mistaken policy in regard to this very important subject of revenue—subject always important, and intensely important in time of war—I will take occasion to suggest for gentlemen's consideration, what occurs to me as worthy of being suggested, in very few words, upon these several topics.

In the first place, there is no doubt that a tax properly laid upon tea and coffee will be productive of a clear positive revenue, but this will depend upon two things; first, upon the amount of the tax; and secondly,

LEXINGTON, KENTUCKY, WEDNESDAY,

JULY 8, 1846.

NUMBER 51.

upon the mode of laying it. The first is obviously a matter for consideration, and in regard to the second I suspect that gentlemen, who are desirous of raising revenue by this means, will find their calculations fallacious, unless they make the duty specific. In my opinion an advalorem duty will disappoint their hopes of any considerable amount of revenue. If I mistake not, under such a system it will soon be found that teas, made up in Canton for the New York market, will become wonderfully cheap. A specific rate per pound will undoubtedly make the duty productive of revenue.

I doubt not that Treasury notes may be available for the use of the Government, to a considerable extent. I do not mean as revenue or income, but as instruments or facilities for the transfer of balances, and as proper to be used in anticipation of taxes or sources of income. In regard to this, I would say, simply, that if it be the purpose of the government, as has been intimated to us for some time, to resort to the issue of Treasury notes, I think the loss of a single day, especially the loss of a single week, will turn out to be quite inconvenient; that is, if the issue of Treasury notes is considered the best and the safest, if they can be used by the Treasury, under authority of law, before the money in the possession of the Government is exhausted.

With respect to loans, I beseech gentlemen not to deceive themselves. There is money enough in the country, it is true, and the credit of the government will be good if we lay such taxes as will produce revenue; but, if gentlemen suppose that a loan is to be contracted in this country for the use of the government, to be paid in specie, in the expectation that that specie is to be locked up, they will find themselves mistaken. Those who hold capital will consent to no such thing. If the government makes a loan, it must be made in the ordinary way—payable by instalments or otherwise, under circumstances that will show that this amount of money is not to be drawn from all the operations of private life. I take it for granted, then, if loans are to be made, the new method of keeping the public money must be abandoned.

Having said this much of those two sources of assisting the revenue, the tax upon tea and coffee, and the issue of Treasury notes, both of which I admit to be efficient, and probably certain in their operations, I have now to say that other matters, suggested and relied on in the communications I have referred to, I consider conjectural, uncertain, and not fit to be the basis of provisions incumbent on us to make before we leave our seats here to place the Executive in a proper condition to carry on the war.

I suppose the calculation will be that a considerable amount will be secured by a considerable reduction of the duties upon articles already taxed, upon the supposition that the importation will be so much increased as to increase the aggregate receipts. I will not say that this is not a well founded opinion. I have all proper respect for the source whence it comes; but I will venture to say that it is but an opinion; it hardly amounts to the character of an estimate, for want of certain and positive foundation. We have no experience from which we can derive a satisfactory conviction that such will be the result. If I were responsible, I should not choose to place reliance to any extent upon this plan.

Well, the next increase is to come from the operation of the warehouse system. I consider this equally void of any certain foundation to rest upon. I do not see how a million of money, in addition to the present income, it is to be derived from admitting goods into the country to be carried out again without paying any duty whatever.

I really do not conceive that the facility of carrying goods through the country without the payment of duty, is going to produce a million of dollars. This is a matter of which I should like to see minute details; I should like to see calculations made by which this result is expected to be accomplished. At present, I do not see the practicability of it.

And so in regard to the public lands; it may be that the passage of the graduation bill would so enhance the disposition to buy by reducing the price, as considerably to increase the quantity sold; but that that increase will be so great as to produce an overplus of half a million or any other sum, notwithstanding the diminution of price, is, I think, a matter of opinion which cannot be relied upon. So that these sources of income appear to me to be rather too uncertain to be the foundation of any satisfactory provisions; there appears rather too much risk in making mere opinions, not to say conjectures, the basis of legislation for producing revenue for the purposes of Government.

The truth is, that, if this war continues, we must have a substantial taxation, or we must incur a public debt. We cannot look to Treasury notes as revenue; if they assume interest, and are payable at a distant day, they become of course a public debt. There must then, be a substantial tax, or there must be a public debt, if the war continues. Our expenses are very great. I do not say they are unnecessary; I make no imputations of that sort at present. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the particulars; but I stated here sometime ago, upon the credit of others, that of which I am perfectly convinced, that our expenses have been half a million of dollars a day.

Forty days ago we passed an act declaring that war existed, and authorized the calling out of fifty thousand volunteers. Well, sir, I have a full conviction that the military expenses of the Government, the expense of raising, equipping, and transporting the force which has already been called out, will be found to have cost twenty millions, very nearly that amount, at this moment. Some portions of our warlike preparations are peculiarly expensive—I mean the regiments of mounted volunteers. They are necessary, I suppose, for the nature of the service; but there was a document published here—a communication I think, from the war Department—when Mr. Poinsent was Secretary, in which it was estimated, if I mistake not, that one regiment of mounted riflemen in regular service cost the Government per annum as much as three regiments of infantry, each composed of the same number of men. And there is good reason to believe that these occasional regiments of volunteers will be still more expensive. Almost every circumstance connected with this war is calculated to increase the expense. The vast distance to be traversed makes the cost of transportation very great; and it becomes the duty of Congress to provide for this extraordinary expense. I do not say that the expense ought not to be incurred, I only say that from the nature of the war, the ex-

pense must necessarily be very great. And I take this occasion to say that I have seen with great pleasure the alacrity with which volunteers have rushed to the public service. A spirit of patriotism and devotion to the country's interest, has been manifested of which we may justly be proud.

But, upon these sources of revenue let me make another remark, though perhaps it is too obvious to acquire notice.

For one half the deficiency the Government proposes to rely on Treasury notes or loans.

Well, if this be so, then, of course, I suppose the idea of pressing for the present the Independent Treasury, or Subtreasury, must be abandoned by every one, for what would be the use of Treasury notes under a Subtreasury administration?

The issue of the Treasury notes would be perfectly inconsistent with the Subtreasury system.

It is quite plain that if the Government,

for its own use, is driven to the necessity of issuing paper, it can have no occasion to make provisions for locking up its treasures.

The subtreasury system makes it penal to issue or receive anything but specie.

They are therefore entirely inconsistent with each other."

With respect to loans, I beseech gentlemen not to deceive themselves. There is money enough in the country, it is true, and the credit of the government will be good if we lay such taxes as will produce revenue;

but, if gentlemen suppose that a loan is to be contracted in this country for the use of the government, to be paid in specie, in the expectation that that specie is to be locked up, they will find themselves mistaken.

Those who hold capital will consent to no such thing. If the government makes a loan, it must be made in the ordinary way—payable by instalments or otherwise, under circumstances that will show that this amount of money is not to be drawn from all the operations of private life.

I take it for granted, then, if loans are to be made, the new method of keeping the public money must be abandoned.

And now, sir, having said this much in relation to the ideas communicated to us respecting the mode of raising revenue, I desire to add, in my judgment, the time has come to ask for the object and character and purposes for and under which the war is hereafter to be conducted. The people of this country, while they are willing to pay all needless expenses; while they are desirous of sustaining the glory of the American arms, while they are ready to defend every inch of American territory, and maintain all the essential rights of their country; the people, if I do not mislead their desires, now wish to know the objects and purposes for which this war is further to be carried on. There is not now a hostile foot within the limits of the United States. Our army, at first an army of observation, then an army of occupation, has become an army of invasion; I will not say unjust invasion; but it is encamped at this moment beyond the limits of the United States, and within the acknowledged territory of Mexico; and, if we may credit the rumors which have recently reached us, a purpose is entertained of marching immediately and directly to the city of Mexico. Well, now, the people, as I have said, appear to me to demand, and with great reason, a full, distinct, and comprehensive account of the objects and purposes of this war of invasion. The President, by two messages, one of the 13th of May and the other of the 16th of June, signifies that he is ready to treat with Mexico upon terms of peace; while it appears, at least as far as we know now, that Mexico is not willing to treat. In regard to this, I must say that, in my judgment, if this be the state of the case, Mexico is acting an entirely unreasonable and senseless part, and the government of the United States, to this extent, is acting a proper one; that is to say, as the war does exist, and the American government is ready to treat, without prescribing terms, so as to show that her terms would be unacceptable, and Mexico declines to treat, why then, I say, so far the conduct of the U. S. is reasonable, and the conduct of Mexico unreasonable and senseless.

I would desire on all such occasions, for many reasons, and in this case for two more than the rest, to keep our country entirely in the right. We can afford to do so; we can lose nothing in dignity by it.

It is not stooping on our part,

but the world knows that the contest is very unequal.

If she will consent to this, I say meet her in negotiation, and in the mean time suspend military operations.

But if she will not do this; if she persists foolishly and senselessly in carrying on the war; if she prefers war to peace, then of course she must have war, vigorous war, until she be compelled to adopt a different line of conduct.

Mr. WEBSTER having concluded, a brief discussion ensued between Messrs. BENTON and CRITTENDEN in relation to the mode of officiating the regiments of volunteers; when—

On motion of Mr. CRITTENDEN, the further consideration of the bill was postponed until to-morrow.

Speech of Theodore Parker in Faneuil Hall, Mass.

Mr. President, fellow-citizens and women,—this is a dark hour in which we are met!—but there have before, in our country's history, been hours as dark to herald in bright dawns! It was as dark an hour, the one that sent our fathers thither from their once honored country. They brought with them the principles of freedom, immature indeed, and not fully established; yet from the first Government formed in New England, to the time of the Federal Constitution, there was a steady advance of political sentiment in hostility to slavery.

When the first slaves were brought hither from Africa, in 1619, a meeting of the several courts was instantly convened, to consider what course the sin demanded on the part of the body politic, under whose jurisdiction it was committed.

The result was, that they were immediately sent back to their homes, at the expense of the Bay State, then not twenty years old; and your Governor wrote a letter, asking pardon of God, and the human race, for the deed!

(Applause.) So we began our career as a State!

(Applause.)

I am not going, at this crowded hour, to follow the stream of time down to the present crisis;—one event I will however bring hastily before you, for it marks our condition as a Church, in 1784, before the compromises of the Constitution had corrupted us.

Then, when rumor said that

three negroes had been forcibly brought

hither as slaves, the community was stirred

through all its members, to ascertain the

facts; and where, do you think, did these

three negroes, and the principles of right

and freedom in their persons, find advocates?

In the *Boston Association of Congregational Ministers!*—(Great applause.)

They passed indignant resolutions—they

adopted active measures,—and in less than

six months the wrong was righted; and the

whole community turned out and spent that

whole day as a day of festival and jubilee!

(Applause.)

The Federal Constitution was adopted,

and from that hour there has been a constant falling away from the great principles of right and duty.

Does any man doubt that? Look at the

annual messages and proclamations of our

Governors. They are always selected

from the religious men of the land; and

twice a year they call on their fellow-citizens

to cease from daily toil and meet

together, once in penitence, and once in

praise, before the God who crowns the

year with his mercy. I have recently read

those various proclamations. A friend of

mine, of great antiquarian research, placed

them all before me. They pray to God,

and praise him for all manner of temporal

mercies. For blessings on the mercantile and

the manufacturing interest—on the farms,

and on the fisheries; but from the

day of the adoption of the Federal

Constitution, not one has mentioned, in

penitence, the sin of Slavery, or prayed

for its extinction. This is no imagination.

It is a statement of facts. You may find in comparatively recent docu-

ments, the suggestion that Abolitionists might be prosecuted at common law, but not a word of rebuke for slavery; and is not this a sufficient indication of the fallen condition of our people, both in a civil and religious light?

We profess great reverence for the Constitution which has so degraded our moral character, but how much regard have we for it in reality? Have we not stood tamely by and seen it a thousand times violated? Most indisputably; and last of all, in these times most flagr

